

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSCE-00 NSC-07 SSO-00 USIE-00

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INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY

USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY

USCINCEUR PRIORITY

USDOCOSOUTH PRIORITY

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

S E C R E T USNATO 4658

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS 82

TAGS: PINT PFOR CY GR TU NATO

SUBJ: CYPRUS: AUGUST 29 MEETING OF NATO CYPRUS GROUP

1. AT UK REQUEST ACTING SYG PANSA CALLED CYPRUS GROUP MEETING AUGUST 29 WITH PECK (UK), DE ROSE (FRANCE), KRAPF (FRG), RUMSFELD AND MCAULIFFE (US), VAN ROEY (BELGIUM), LISSFELT AND MEUWIS (INTERNATIONAL STAFF) ATTENDING.

2. PECK SAID HMG WISHED REPORT LATEST DEVELOPMENTS TO KEY ALLIES:

A. ON AUGUST 24 UK RECEIVED FORMAL GREEK REJECTION OF ITS PROPOSAL TO RESUME GENEVA TALKS. THIS FIRM, FORMAL REPLY FROM FONMIN MAVROS WAS GIVEN TO UK WITH ORAL ASSURANCES THAT GOG
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ATTITUDE COULD CHANGE IF TURKISH FORCES FALL BACK TO AUGUST 9 POSITIONS AND IF PM ECEVIT SHOWS MORE FLEXIBILITY.

B. ON AUGUST 25, AFTER HIS MEETINGS IN ATHENS, CLERIDES ADVISED

UK THAT RESUMPTION GENEVA TALKS MIGHT BE POSSIBLE:

1) IF TURKS AGREE TO MEANINGFUL ADJUSTMENT OF ZONE THEY NOW OCCUPY,

2) IF GOT AGREES TO EVENTUALLY TOTAL PHASED WITHDRAWAL OF ALL ITS TROOPS,

3) IF CYPRIOT PEOPLE ON BOTH SIDES OF LINE ARE ALLOWED TO RETURN TO HOMES FROM WHICH THEY FLED, EVEN IF ULTIMATELY GREEK CYPRIOTS ARE TO RELOCATE TO ONE ZONE AND TURKISH CYPRIOTS TO THE OTHER.

C. GOT STILL SEEMS TO BELIEVE THAT IT CAN WAIT SINCE TIME IS ON ITS SIDE, AND THERE IS NO INKLING THAT IT WILL MAKE CONCESSIONS ALONG LINES THAT MAVROS AND CLERIDES HAVE MENTIONED.

D. ON AUGUST 27 UN SYG WALDHEIM ADVISED FCO THAT ECEVIT HAD ASSURED HIM:

1) GOT PREPARED TO BEGIN TO REDUCE TURKISH MILITARY PRESENCE AS SOON AS TURKISH CYPRIOTS ALLOWED TO MOVE TO ZONE HELD BY TURKISH MILITARY,

2) REDUCTION OF TURKISH MILITARY PRESENCE ON ISLAND WAS POSSIBLE BEFORE START OF MAJOR NEGOTIATIONS,

3) REDUCTION OF TURKISH ZONE TO 28 PERCENT OF GEOGRAPHIC AREA WAS POSSIBLE,

4) RETURN OF GREEK CYPRIOTS TO TURKISH-HELD ZONE WOULD POSE PROBLEMS BECAUSE TURKISH CYPRIOTS WILL REQUIRE "LEBENSRAUM."

E. SYG WALDHEIM COMMENTED THAT:

1) CLERIDES-DENKTASH TALKS UNDER CHAIRMANSHIP OF SECRET

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WECKMAN (UN OFFICIAL) USEFUL BUT NO SUBSTITUTE FOR ACTUAL NEGOTIATIONS AMONG INTERESTED PARTIES

2) WALDHEIM FAVORED REVIEW AND CHANGE OF UNFICYP MANDATE, BUT FCO STATED BRITISH OPPOSITION.

F. ON AUGUST 27 PROFESSOR ULMAN (TURKISH MP) AND SENATOR INAN CONFERRED WITH MINISTER ENNALS AT FCO. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONING, TURKISH REPS STATED:

1) SIZE OF TURKISH ZONE WAS MATTER FOR DISCUSSION BETWEEN PARTIES WITH DUE REGARD FOR VALIDITY OF TURKISH COMMUNITY. 28 PCT GEOGRAPHIC ZONE, PLUS ADDITIONAL

BITS FOR SECURITY REASONS SHOULD MEET THAT NEED. ENNALS SUGGESTED THAT 25 PCT MIGHT BE BETTER AND INQUIRED WHETHER TURKS PREPARED WITHDRAW FROM NEW CITY OF FAMAGUSTA; BUT HE RECEIVED NO REPLY.

2) GOT PREPARED TO EFFECT TIMELY AND PHASED REDUCTIONS OF TURKISH MILITARY FORCES IN COMPLIANCE ARTICLE 4 GENEVA DECLARATION.

3) WHEN ENNALS INQUIRED WHETHER GREEK CYPRIOT REFUGEES IN SOVEREIGN BASE AREA MIGHT RETURN TO THEIR HOMES, TURKISH REPS SAID GOT EXPECTS CREATION TWO SEPARATE ADMINISTRATIVE AREAS, ONE GREEK CYPRIOT AND THE OTHER TURKISH CYPRIOT, BUT THERE MIGHT BE SOME PROVISIONS FOR LOCAL AUTONOMY.

3. KRAPF REPORTED THAT REPORTS NOW REACHING BONN INDICATE THAT TURKS HAVE BEGUN TO REALIZE THAT THEIR PRESENT

POLITICAL POSTURE IS ENABLING THEM TO PREVAIL ON THE GROUND FOR THE SHORT TERM. BUT THERE IS INCREASING RECOGNITION THAT THE MILITARY OPERATION IS EXTREMELY EXPENSIVE AND THAT, WITH UNGA IN PROSPECT, INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL TIDE LIKELY TO RUN AGAINST THEM.

4. ACCORDING FRG EMBASSY ATHENS, POLITICAL DIRECTOR TSUNIS IN GREEK FONOFF HAS SAID:

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A. NATO'S NAMFI RANGE WILL REMAIN UNTOUCHED,

B. FATE OF NADGE EARLY WARNING SYSTEM STILL UNCLEAR,

C. GOG HOPES FOSTER STRONGER BILATERAL MILITARY RELATIONS WITH ALLIES,

D. US MILITARY MISSION IN GREECE TO REMAIN UNDISTURBED,

E. AGREEMENTS FOR HOMEPORTING UNITS OF SIXTH FLEET "COMPARABLE TO GREEK CAPITULATION TO OTTOMAN EMPIRE" (ACCORDING TSUNIS) WILL BE TERMINATED, BUT U.S. WILL PROBABLY BE ALLOWED ONE YEAR TO EVACUATE,

F. RETURN TO MILITAR COOPERATION WITH NATO INTEGRATED STRUCTURE IS OUT OF QUESTION,

G. ACE MOBILE FORCE WILL NOT HOLD FUTURE MANEUVERS ON GREEK SOIL.

5. FRG EMBASSY ATHENS HAS CLEAR IMPRESSION MOST GREEK OFFICIALS ONLY NOW BEGINNING TO ASSESS BENEFITS AND DISADVANTAGES OF WITHDRAWAL FROM NATO STRUCTURE. THEY CITE OUTBURSTS ANTI-

AMERICAN AND ANTI-NATO SENTIMENTS AND SEEM ASTONISHED THAT NATO ALLIES HAVE NOT EXPRESSED APPREHENSION AT PROSPECT GREEK WITHDRAWAL. LACK OF ALLIED ALARM HAS CAUSED SOME GREEK BUREAUCRATS AND MILITARY MEN TO RE-STUDY COST/BENEFIT RATIO; AND FRG HOPES NO ALLY WILL REWARD GOG THROUGH BILATERAL CHANNELS FOR ITS THREATENED WITHDRAWAL FROM NATO.

6. PANSA SAID PETROS MOLYVIATIS, DCM GREEK MISSION TO NATO, MADE FAREWELL CALL AUGUST 28 PRIOR RETURN TO ATHENS TO SERVE AS DIPLOMATIC ADVISER TO PM KARAMANLIS. MOLYVIATIS SAID GOG DECISION OBVIOUSLY PROMPTED BY PSCHOPOLITICAL AND DOMESTIC PRESSURES WITHOUT CONSIDERATION OF LONG-TERM PRACTICAL CONSEQUENCES FOR NATIONAL SECURITY. HE SAID THAT ANTI-US AND ANTI-NATO SENTIMENT STILL RUNNING VERY HIGH BECAUSE ALLIES DID NOTHING AT TIME OF MILITARY TAKEOVER IN APRIL 1967 AND BECAUSE THEY WERE EQUALLY INACTIVE WHEN TURKISH MILITARY FORCES INVADED CYPRUS. MOLYVIATIS SAID
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HE APPRECIATED LONG-TERM BENEFITS TO GREECE OF FULL NATO MEMBERSHIP; BUT HE ALSO RECOGNIZED HE WAS MOVING INTO A DELICATE POLITICAL SITUATION IN ATHENS.

7. DE ROSE ADDED THAT, IN BOTH ATHENS AND PARIS, GREEKS HAVE SOUGHT FRENCH ADVICE ON MANNER OF ATTENUATING TIES TO NATO. THEY HAVE INQUIRED ABOUT NADGE, BASES, REMOVAL OF FOREIGN FORCES, LIAISON TO MILITARY HEADQUARTERS, EXCHANGE OF INTELLIGENCE, AND EVEN NUCLEAR QUESTION. DE ROSE SAID GOG HAS TRIED TO GIVE FACTUAL ANSWERS, BUT GREEK SITUATION SO DISSIMILAR TO THAT OF FRANCE THAT REPLIES ARE OF LITTLE PRACTICAL HELP.

8. US REP THEN DREW ON PARA 1 STATE 188907. EC-9 REPS EXPRESSED THANKS AND EXPRESSED FAMILIARITY WITH U.S. POSITION.

9. AFTER BRIEF LULL IN PROCEEDINGS, DE ROSE WENT ON TO READ PORTION OF TELEGRAM FROM FRENCH EMBASSY ATHENS REPORTING CONVERSATION OF ITALIAN POLITICAL DIRECTOR DUCCI WITH GREEK DEFMIN AVEROFF. ACCORDING DUCCI, AVEROFF SAID GOG SUSPICIOUS OF SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR NEGOTIATIONS BUT, DUE TO DOMESTIC SITUATION, CANNOT AFFORD TO SPURN IT. GOG COULD IN TIME PROBABLY ACCEPT BIZONAL FEDERATION SCHEME PROVIDED EVENTUAL TURKISH ZONE AMOUNTED TO NO MORE THAN 22 PCT OF LAND AREA AND APPROPRIATE ARRANGEMENTS MADE FOR GREEK CYPRIOTS IN FAMAGUSTA AND IN CERTAIN OTHER AREAS. AVEROFF REPORTEDLY TOLD DUCCI THAT USG AND OTHER ALLIES MUST USE THEIR INFLUENCE WITH TURKEY AND MUST BE SEEN TO BE DOING SO. GOG DECISION TO WITHDRAW FROM NATO WAS MADE UNDER "PRECISE CONDITIONS"; IF CONDITIONS WERE TO CHANGE, THEN ATHENS COULD RECONSIDER MATTER. AT ANY RATE, GOG WILL INSIST THAT UK MAINTAIN SOVEREIGN BASE IN CYPRUS SINCE BRITISH MILITARY PRESENCE ESSENTIAL TO MILITARY BALANCE IN EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN.

10. AFTER DISCUSSION IT WAS AGREED THAT THERE WAS NO NEED
FOR A NAC MEETING ON SYG'S CYPRUS WATCHING BRIEF.
RUMSFELD

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